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governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen, nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

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A word must be said about the representation of national minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

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The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32. Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82. It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

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Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
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In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their final stage, there were structural changes in the administration of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

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175 Moslems were rising in China Proper, a descendant of the Khojas
669 was able to move from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865
648 he ruled Kashgar and Yarkand. Soon, his chief of staff, Yakub
268 Beg, replaced him and conquered the rest of Chinese Turkestan.
Helped by foreign aid and diplomatic recognition, Sinkiang re-
mained independent and under Moslem rule for over a decade.
After the death of Yakub Beg in 1877 and the recapture of Sinkiang
by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the dream of a great Turkic Empire, extend-
ing from the Caspian to the western frontier of China, continued
to exist. Turanism (Pan Turkism or Pan Turkistanism) gradually
came to acquire the ideological formulations of modern nationalism.

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175 A Moslem uprising of proportions dangerous to the Chinese
669 government broke out in 1931 under the leadership of Ma Ch'ing-
648 ying, who led an army of Chinese Moslems from Kansu into Sin-
kiang. His defeat in 1934 by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was partly due to
the aid of Russia. It regarded Ma as a collaborator and advance
scout of the Japanese whose invasion of Central Asia seemed im-
minent.

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175 The most recent example of an anti-Chinese uprising culminat-
669 ed in 1944 in the establishment at Kulja of the "Eastern Turkistan
668 Republic." Unlike previous purely Moslem uprisings, the Kulja
S movement was an expression of "coalition nationalism," and it
(646) attempted to unite all the non-Chinese of Sinkiang. The Kulja
government was headed by a council made up of an Uighur, a Kaz-
akh, and a "White" Russian. In the years that followed until the
victory of the Chinese Communists, there were alternate periods
of fighting, negotiations and near co-existence between the National
Government and Kulja. The insurgents' chief demand was for auto-
nomy and self-government, rather than for complete independence
from China. Agreements, guaranteeing cultural freedoms and
substantial independence in the administration of the local govern-
ment, were made but were never really carried out. In 1947,
Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landlord, became Chairman of Sin-
kiang, the first non-Chinese to hold that position. But as he was
considered by many members of the Kulja Government to be an
agent of the C. C. Clique and the National Government, the move-
ment split for and against him, and a new deadlock was created.
In December, 1948, Masud Sabri was replaced by Burkhan at a
time when no assembly was in session to accept or reject him.
It is difficult to know to what degree the Kulja Government had
been swayed by Communist or Soviet Russian influence. Only one
thing was certain - the government was strongly anti-Chinese.
But with the Communist victory, the entire provincial government
of Sinkiang turned to the new regime and a completely new situation
emerged.

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* 668 Thus, there have been two major types of independence move-
ments in the Northwest, one purely Moslem and the other seeking